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115 riage with the Mandan. Bears Arm supplied information on Eagle-trapping Rites.

115 As the study progressed, less resistance to divulging sacred lore was encountered except in the recording of the People 124 Above rites. The omission or incompleteness of data for some 114 of the rites is due to the shortness of the period of study and the failure of the writer to recognize the significance of some of the rites in interpreting the ceremonial life until the study was nearly completed or while analyzing the data after leaving the field. By that time those who could have supplied the information had died. Additional information on the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan, particularly eagle-trapping, was obtained while making a study of the Hidatsa for the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago under the supervision of Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole in 1932 and 1933. Beloit College transferred the field notes on the Mandan to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago in 1940, and the section on Mandan ceremonial organization was prepared at that time. The writer worked with Crows Heart, now ninety-two years of age and the only survivor of the original group of informants, during the summer of 1947 recording his autobiography. At that time the section dealing with the social organization was checked with him.

• 128 In the preparation of this manuscript, the writer has attempted to record as fully as possible the myths relating to the ceremony. At times these myths, because of their exceeding length, make reading difficult. However, were the myths removed from their proper context, the meaning of the various rites and practices of the ceremony would be lost. The introductory chapter is a brief summary taken from two other manuscripts recently prepared by the writer. These are: "Archeology of the Upper Missouri" and "A History of the Mandan and Hidatsa." These manuscripts may be examined at the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago. I have purposely avoided reference to cultural similarities to neighboring tribal groups other than to indicate broad cultural similarities with the Hidatsa.

194 In the brief recording of native terms the writer has employed the symbols used by Kennard in his report on "Mandan Gram-

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secret and were never related publicly. One paying to have the myths related did not receive rights in the ceremony. Instructions in the rites and songs were divulged only to those purchasing the bundle rites.

So far as the writer was able to determine, the ceremonial pattern had been established prior to A.D. 1800 and underwent little change in subsequent years. There was, however, a greater display of goods after the introduction of the horse and the establishment of trading posts.

Matthews wrote: "The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandan of to-day."[1]

The Mandan preserved their rich ceremonialism after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, according to Matthews, who added:

> The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen to-day, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Ft. Clark, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rite, have however, been somewhat mitigated since his day.[2]

In addition to the sacred myths associated with the bundles, there were numerous stories of a magical character which were bought and sold. A few of these myths were recorded in the field but are omitted from this book, since a number of them have already appeared in print.[3] The most popular of these were: (1) the exploits of Spring Buffalo and Corn Silk; (2) Stiff Robe and the Buffaloes of the Four Seasons; (3) Four Wings; (4) Snake Village and Buffalo Village; (5) Sun as a Gambler and Cannibal; and (6) the Pet Magpie.[4]

The First Creator myths also belong in this category. Since this mythological character had a dual personality, in organizing

1. Washington Matthews, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Language of the Hidatsa* (New York, 1873–74), p. 14.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
3. See Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).
4. See also the myths recorded below in chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping Ceremony."

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the material for this volume, myths of a less sacred character were excluded.

Mandan-Hidatsa eagle-trapping rites were treated collectively in this study, since tribal differences were no greater than differences appearing in separate bundle lines. This is due possibly to recent borrowing by the Hidatsa, because the territory eastward of their historic range, from which they moved in late prehistoric times, was unsuited to eagle-trapping.

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121 was the investigation of the upper part of the course of the Missouri, they do not form a prominent feature, and it is impossible to expect, from a few months' residence, an opinion on the social condition and character of that motley population.

The indulgent reader, following the author beyond the frontier of the United States, will have to direct his attention to those extensive plains—those cheerless, desolate prairies, the western boundary of which is formed by the snow-covered chain of the Rocky Mountains, or the Oregon, where many tribes of the aborigines still enjoy a peaceful abode; while their brethren in the eastern part of the continent are supplanted, extirpated, degenerated, in the face of the constantly increasing immigration, or have been forced across the Mississippi, where they have for the most part perished.

122 The vast tracts of the interior of North-western America are, in general, but little known, and the government of the United States may be justly reproached for not having done more to explore them. Some few scientific expeditions, among which the two under Major Long produced the most satisfactory results for natural history, though on a limited scale, were set on foot by the government; and it is only under its protection that a thorough investigation of those extensive wildernesses, especially in the Rocky Mountains, can be undertaken. Even Major Long's expeditions are but poorly furnished with respect to natural history, for a faithful and vivid picture of those countries, and their original inhabitants, can never be placed before the eye without the aid of a fine portfolio of plates by the hand of a skilful artist.

In my description of the voyage up the Missouri, I have endeavoured to avail myself of the assistance of an able draughtsman, the want of which I so sensibly felt in my former travels in South America. On the present occasion I was accompanied by Mr. Bodmer, who has represented the Indian nations with great truth, and correct delineation of their characteristic features. His drawings will prove an important addition to our knowledge of this race of men, to whom so little attention has hitherto been paid.

121 After mature consideration, I have judged it desirable to throw the account of my voyage
128 on the Missouri itself into the form of a journal, as the daily notices were numerous, but the variety very trifling: so that the patience of the reader will unfortunately be tried a little in this part of the narrative. In those uninhabited, desert countries the traveller has nothing but the description of the naked banks of the river, and the little diversity they afford, interrupted at times by the adventures of the chase, and occasional meetings with Indians; the reader will therefore excuse many observations and unimportant descriptions, which would have been omitted if the materials had been richer in variety. I need still more indulgence with respect to many observations on natural history, but for this the loss of the greater part of my collections will be a sufficient excuse. The cases containing them were delivered to the Company, to be put on board the steamer for St. Louis, but not insured; and, when the steamer caught fire, the people thought rather of saving the goods than my cases, the contents of which were, probably, not considered to be of much value, and so they were all burnt. This may be a warning to future travellers not to neglect to insure such collections.

Though the main object of my journey, namely, to pass some time in the chain of the Rocky Mountains, was defeated by unfavourable circumstances, I should have been able, but for the loss of my collections, to communicate many new observations, especially in the department of zoology, which are now more or less deficient. The accounts of the tribes of the aborigines, and

6t Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

especially of the Mandans and Manitaries, are more complete, because I spent a whole winter among them, and was able to have daily intercourse with them. Authentic and impartial accounts of the Indians of the Upper Missouri are now especially valuable, if the information that we have since received is well founded, namely, that to the many evils introduced by the Whites among those tribes, a most destructive epidemic—small-pox—has been added, and a great part of them exterminated: according to the newspapers, the Mandans, Manitaries, Assiniboins, and Blackfeet have been swept away except a small remnant. The observation of the manners of the aborigines is undoubtedly that which must chiefly interest the foreign traveller in those countries, especially as the Anglo-Americans look down on them with a certain feeling of hatred. Hence we have hitherto met with little useful information respecting the Indians, except in the recent writings of Edward James, Long, Say, Schoolcraft, M'Kenney, Cass, Duponceau, Irving, and a few others; and as good portraits of this race have hitherto been extremely rare, the faithful delineation contained in the portfolio of plates accompanying this work will be interesting to the friends of anthropology and ethnography.

Several men, of great eminence in the learned world, have had the kindness to contribute to the publication. President Nees Von Esenbeck has undertaken the determination and description of the plants which I brought home; Professor Goldfuss, of Bonn, that of some fossil shells; Professor Göppert, of Breslau, that of the impression of fossil plants from Mauch Chunk; Professors Valenciennes at Paris, and Wiegmann at Boston, the comparison of some zoological specimens with those in their cities; and Lieut.-Col. W. Thorn, the construction of the map; for which obliging assistance I beg leave to offer to these gentlemen my sincere thanks.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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The author, in his Preface, gives so full an account of the objects and results of his travels in the interior of North America, that it would have been unnecessary for me to prefix any observations of my own, were it not for some circumstances, connected with the translation, which seem to require explanation.

The prospectus of the German original announced that the work would consist of two large quarto volumes, accompanied by a portfolio of above eighty beautifully coloured copper-plates, executed by eminent artists at Paris, from the original drawings. Some specimens of the plates having been brought to London, were so much admired by many competent judges, that Messrs. Ackermann were induced to agree with the Paris publisher for a limited number of copies of the plates; and as it might justly be presumed that the English purchasers would be desirous of having the narrative of the travels, it was resolved to publish a translation compressed into a single volume. By selecting, however, a page of a large size, the translator has been able to retain all the most interesting parts, omitting only minute details of the measurements of animals, &c. All the chapters illustrative of the manners, customs, traditions, and superstitions of the Indians are given without abridgment, and these, as the author justly observes, are by far the most attractive and valuable portions of the work. The papers in the Appendix, giving an account of the plants collected, are also inserted entire, and have been kindly revised by my friend Sir William Hooker.

The principal omission is that of the very extensive vocabularies of the languages of the different Indian tribes. They are written so as to represent the pronunciation in German, and have, in numerous instances, special directions, as thus: kontschue (*on* as in French, *schue*, short and quick, *ü*). It appeared to be a hopeless and unprofitable task to rewrite these vocabularies, and to represent the true pronunciation in English. Those who are curious in such matters will find many specimens in Mr. Catlin's interesting work.

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The numerous Indian proper names are, of course, written in the original as pronounced in German. It has been thought best to leave them unchanged, merely requesting the reader to observe, in general, that the consonants are pronounced as in English; only that *ch* is guttural, as in the Scotch word *loch*; that *sch* is pronounced *sh*, and that the vowels have the same sound as in French, *ah*, *a*, *ee*, *o*, *oo*.

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The author alludes, in his Preface, to the recent fearful ravages which have been caused among the Indian races by the small-pox. The origin and extent of these ravages will be seen from the following very affecting letter on the subject:

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131 LOCATION--latitude and longitude; position in relation to land and sea (e.g., insular, coastal, interior); area of territory occupied; accessibility by land and sea routes; boundaries; etc. See also:

Territorial organization 63
Location of group in relation to others . . . 101
Maps 102

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142 114 rather inclining to a dark brown, and I observed some whose hair was almost fair;" eyes not jet black, common to other Indians, but "inclined to be a dark brown; some few are dark gray."

Maximilian, who tarried among and critically studied them in 1833, observes that their noses are sometimes "aqualine, or slightly curved, and often quite straight" and "not so long and arched as those of the Sioux"; that their eyes are "in general long and narrow, of a dark brown color;" that the children's hair "is often only dark brown," and that Brackenridge "speaks of brown hair among the Mandans. There are whole families among them, as well as among the Blackfeet, whose hair is gray, or black mixed with white, so that the whole head appears gray." While Catlin, who sojourned among them in 1832, declares that "they are distinct from all other red folks I have seen," as "differing in many respects, both in looks and customs, from all other tribes which I have seen;" that they were "many steps ahead of other tribes in manners and refinement"; that they were called "polite and friendly Mandans" by the traders; that he "was struck with the peculiar ease and elegance" of them; that "the diversity of complexions, the various colors of their hair and eyes, the singularity of their languages and their peculiar and unaccountable customs" made him "fully convinced that they have sprung from some other origin than that of the North American tribes, or that they are an amalgam of natives with some civilized race;" that "their personal appearance alone, independent of their modes and customs, pronounces them at once as more or less than Indians;" that a stranger "is first struck with the different shades of complexions and various colors of their hair which he sees in a crowd about him, and is at once almost disposed to exclaim that 'These are not Indians.'" That there are many women "whose skins are almost white, with the most pleasing symmetry of features, with hazel, with gray and with blue eyes—with mildness and sweetness of expression and excessive modesty of demeanor, which render them exceedingly pleasant and beautiful."

•131 114 174 **Habitat.** The habitat of the Mandans when first seen by white men from the east was, to what may be regarded as a moral certainty, at and in the immediate vicinity, northward, of Mandan and Bismarck in what is now North Dakota, territory then claimed by Spain, and probably by England. We refer to the

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first visit by La Verendrye to the Mandans in November and December, 1738. We have not caused to be examined the Spanish chronicles to ascertain whether it is either certain or probable that subjects of that nation had come in contact with the Mandans prior to Verendrye's said visit; but if we are to credit the positive statement made to him by a Mandan Indian at the most northerly or prairie village of that tribe where he first made a stand among them—to the effect that the narrator and other Mandans had had a conflict with one or more white men to the south, who were on horseback and in armor, and that he had barely escaped with his life. Spaniards had penetrated into the near neighborhood of the Mandans on the upper Missouri before Verendrye visited them.

Verendrye—Where He Met Them. It is impossible to locate with any certainty the spot where, or even the immediate vicinity in which Verendrye met the delegation of Mandans who left their most northerly village and returned with his messengers (sent on to announce his coming) to a designated meeting place not far from that village and greeted and parleyed with him November 28th, 1738, and where the Mandan chief invited him to "his fort"—the nearest by and "smaller than the others," and informed him that there were "six forts." All that can be gathered clearly from Verendrye's record (being his official letter to the French governor general of New France, etc.) is that, having started from Michilimackinac on this expedition to the Mandans on the Missouri river, and having arrived at the Assiniboine river and built a fort there sixty leagues below the "forks" of that river—(which we believe to have referred to the confluence of the main stream with the Souris or Mouse river, some 150 miles west) southwest from what is now Winnipeg—he left this "fort" October 18th; three days thereafter the Assiniboine Indians joined him; that on October 21st, he reached the "first mountain," which he states was 26 leagues from his fort and south by southwest; that he next reached the "second mountain," traveling a west by northwest course 24 leagues (we are inclined to think this second mountain was Turtle mountain), and that from this mountain to the Mandans "is southwest;" that November 18th he arrived at an Indian village far (some sixty leagues) out of the direct route to the Mandans, to the west-southwest 120 leagues, to which point he was forced to go, being in the hands of Assini-

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boine guides; that November 20th he left that village to go 17 leagues, where the meeting place of the Mandans had been chosen, at which point he arrived November 28th; that on the evening of November 30th he continued on toward the first Mandan fort, at about seven leagues from which he lost some papers; that the Indian "orator" there said: "We must leave before four o'clock in the morning in order to arrive early at the fort;" that at noon next day at one and one-half leagues, near a small river (the Mouse?) they rested two hours, where a number of Mandans had come to meet them; that Verendrye was carried thence by the Indians to a point "four acres from the fort," where "the old men" were waiting; that after firing a salute to the fort he marched to and entered it December 3rd, 1738, at four p. m. He had thus spent fifty-two days in going from his "fort" on the Assiniboine to what must have been not far from the neighborhood of Washburn, N. D., 43 miles above Bismarck, or from Coal Harbor, some 25 miles northwest of Washburn, during which journey much time was lost on the detour above mentioned, "so that we took forty-six days to go a distance we should have done easily in sixteen or twenty days at the most." The distance from his fort on the Assiniboine to the first Mandan fort can probably be roughly estimated at about 400 miles by a substantially direct route; and on that basis Verendrye's estimate of sixteen days' travel would be 25 miles per day.

In Neill's account of the Verendrye expedition to the Rocky mountains in 1742 he states that the explorer reached the "country of the Montanes" by "ascending the Assiniboine, and by the present trail to Mouse river." (Contributions to Historical Society of Montana, Vol. 1, p. 307.) From which it would appear that a thoroughfare overland from the Assiniboine to the Missouri existed anciently as the usual mode of passing over the divide between the basin of Lake Winnepeg and the Missouri valley.

In a note by Neill to the above observation he says:

"The Mandans, or White Beards, of the Dakotah family are noted for being gray-haired. Sometimes children six years of age have this appearance. They were nearly destroyed by smallpox in 1837, and in 1874 they lived near the Aricaras and Gros Ventres, in the vicinity of Fort Berthold, on the Missouri. For-

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merly all dwelt in mud cabins, surrounded by ditches. A few yet live in dirt lodges." This account was published in 1876. 131 101 174

In another note by Neill in connection with his account of Verendrye's expedition to the mountains, and explanatory of the text, it is stated: "Father Coquard, who had been associated with Verendrye, says that they first met the Mantanes, and next the Brochets. After these were the. Gros Ventres," etc. His note explains that the Brochets, or Fish tribe, may perhaps be the Assiniboines. That the Gros Ventres "are said to have formerly lived on the Assiniboine and Red rivers." He then quotes from a report made by Governor Ramsey, of Minnesota, made in 1850 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to this effect: "The chief of the Red Lake Chippewas of Minnesota some years ago met a village of Gros Ventres toward the sources of the Missouri. They learned that the smoke of the Gros Ventres lodges once arose at Sandy Lake, and that they had a large village of earthen houses at mouth of the Savanna river, which empties into the St. Louis." This would indicate that the Gros Ventres once inhabited the country bordering on the west end of Lake Superior, and by comparing what is said in these Neill notes concerning their residence on the Red and Assiniboine, with the reference to their habitat near the St. Louis river, we may find warrant for observing that the traditions about the Mandans having lived northward and eastward of the Missouri river country, where they were first found by white men, may really have become confused with the Gros Ventres traditions—the latter having joined the Mandans prior to white exploration of those regions.

Then Neill in his account of the Verendrye expedition of 1742 thus refers to Bougainville's version of that expedition and the route taken by quoting him as follows: "He went from Fort La Reine to the Missouri. He met, on the banks of this river, the Mandans, or White Beards, who had seven villages, with fine stockades, strengthened by a ditch. Next to these were the Kinongewiniris, or the Brochets (Assiniboines), in three villages; and toward the upper part of the river were three villages of the Mahantas." These Mahantas were by Neill understood as being the Mahas, or Omahas. And Bougainville adds, after referring to the Mahantas: "All along to the north of the Wabiek or Shell river were situated twenty-three villages of the Panis." Neill in his note says this: "Shell" may mean the Musselshell river

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of modern maps. He then says regarding the Panis: "The Pawnees on De L'Isle's map, are marked on the Missouri, and on Panis, now Platte river. Jeffreys on his map marks a tribe west of Lake Winnipeg, called 'Cris Panis Blanc.' Drake speaks of White Pawnees, Freckled Pawnees and Pawnees of the Platte. They now number about eighteen hundred and dwell on a reservation on a branch of the Platte in Nebraska." (They had gone south from that reservation at or about the time of publication of Neill's account—1876).

From Bougainville's account Neill finds him stating: "Opposite the Mandans are the Ospekakaernousques, or Flatheads, four villages; opposite the Panis are the Arcs, or Knisteneaux, and Utasiaoutchactas, or Assiniboel, three villages." (Id., pp. 312-13-14.)

The summary of evidences as to the course pursued by La Verendrye on his expedition to the mountains in 1742-3, as found in the said Historical Society Contributions, is as follows as regards the Mandans:

"Starting from Fort La Reine, on the Assiniboine river, they went up the Mouse river in a southerly direction, and then crossed over to the Missouri a little below where is now Fort Berthold. They then ascended the Missouri," etc. (Id., p. 316.)

From Bougainville's Memoirs on the State of New France, 1757, the following extract is taken and published by Brower in his "Missouri River:"

"Voyage de la Verendrye. The one who most forwarded this discovery is the Sieur de la Verenderie; from the Fort de la Reine he reached the Missouri; he met first of all upon this river the Mandannes or Blancs Barbus (Bearded Whites) to the number of seven villages fortified by terraced stockades with a ditch; next the Kinongewiniris, or the Brochets (Pikes, i. e., fish) to the number of three villages; in the upper part of the river he found the Mahantas making also three villages; and along the Missouri, in descending it to the mouth of the river Wabiek, or Shell (Coquille) twenty-three villages of Panis." (P. 65.) "Opposite the Panis are the Gens de l'Arc (People of the Bow), Atchapeivinioques in Cristinaux and Utasibaoutchactas in Assibinboels, three villages." (Id. p. 65.)

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Where Lewis and Clarke Found Them. Lewis and Clarke, in their expedition of 1804, are the first visitors to the Mandan vil-

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lages who give any definite information of the precise location of those Indians on the Missouri river. And while they do clearly state where a Mandan village on the westerly side of the Missouri was located, their reference to the Mandan village on the easterly side does not show to a certainty whether it was at a point above or below the one which they speak of as being on the opposite side, but they state that the latter is "at the distance of three miles across." They then proceed to substantially fix the location of the village on the westerly side by calling it "the lower Mandan village" and by locating the village called "Mahaha" as being "on the same side of the river, and at a distance of four miles from the lower Mandan village," and which "Mahaha" village is "at the mouth of the Knife river." That river, known as the Big Knife, flows into the Missouri on the westerly side about three miles above Stanton, and about 63 miles above Bismarck, North Dakota.

Lewis and Clarke declare that when they visited and wintered among the Mandans in 1804-5 the Mandan villages were two in number. This statement is so clear that it can not be misunderstood. They erected Fort Mandan about three miles below the first or lower Mandan village reached by their expedition in its up-river progress, but on the opposite or easterly side of the Missouri. (See the narrative from Clarke's journal, farther on.) Nowhere in their journal is it made plain how far above the "Fort" the Mandan village on that side was situated. But it cannot be far from correct to assume that, as the distance between the two villages (as stated by them) is "three miles across," and assuming that the river itself was about one mile in width, the village at the easterly side was about two miles above the other on the Missouri. This would indicate—still basing our conclusion upon the data of Lewis and Clarke—that the Mandan village on the easterly side of the Missouri was about two miles below a point opposite to the mouth of the Big Knife. And the same data would place the fort at about seven and one-half miles below said outlet; and this is in harmony with the generally understood fact. Dr. Coues says that post was "seven or eight miles" below the mouth of the Big Knife. The more exact location of those Mandan villages may perhaps be shown by evidences to be brought into this paper later on.

But a difficulty has arisen in determining whether there were

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or not more than one Mandan village on the westerly side of the Missouri, and also as to how far below the Big Knife they were situated, if there were two.

The writer of this article, in preparing his note (6) on Fort Clarke, the trading post in that vicinity, in editing the reprint of Maj. Wilson's article on "Old Fort Pierre and Her Neighbors" (S. D. Hist. Col., Vol. 1, p. 318) found, from various historical data then at hand, that Fort Clarke, which seemed to be shown by all the authorities to be situated substantially eight miles below the mouth of the Big Knife river on the westerly side of the Missouri, was but a very short distance—less than one-fifth of a mile—below a Mandan village on that side, while other data pointed to another Mandan village on the same side "in the wooded bend some three miles below" Fort Clarke, and which seemed to be known as "the lower Mandan village." That "bend" would thus be about eleven miles below the mouth of the Big Knife. But the Lewis and Clarke account shows, as we have seen, the lower Mandan village to have been, in 1804-5, but four miles below that point. Fort Clarke was established in 1831, and while it is possible that the one Mandan village of 1804 became divided into two at or some time after Fort Clarke was built, so as to account for the data found by the writer as stated, yet it would seem improbable that one of the two which such separation would result in would not be on the same spot where those explorers found a Mandan village on the westerly side. Yet they place the one village they saw at four miles, while the other data referred to shows the upper of two villages about seven and three-fourths miles and the lower one eleven miles below the mouth of Big Knife. And it is at about the latter distance below that stream where the Missouri bends from a southeasterly to an easterly direction, thus furnishing the locality for a "wooded bend" where, at some time between 1831 and the date of migration of the Mandans further up stream, about fourteen years later, one of their two villages on the westerly side of the Missouri was situated. If, therefore, there was in fact but one Mandan village on the westerly side in 1804 it seems probable that the estimate of Lewis and Clarke in placing it but four miles below the mouth of Big Knife is erroneous, as we believe the data of a later period concerning the location of Fort Clarke and its very near proximity to a Mandan village just above it is

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more likely to be exact than the estimate of those early explorers. Opinions upon this point will naturally differ.

Thompson. David Thompson, who in the preface to Coues' edition of the Henry-Thompson Journals (Francis P. Harper, 1897) is referred to as "the celebrated astronomer, geographer, explorer and discoverer—in a word the scientist," and who, in the employ of the Northwest Company, left McDougall's house on the Assiniboine river November 28th, 1797, and arrived at the Missouri river and the Mandan villages December 29th, 1797, and departed on his return trip January 10th, 1798, is thus noted by Dr. Coues, who has summarized from the Thompson Journal: "He notes five villages, altogether of 318 houses and 7 tents, viz: Upper Fall Indians, 31 houses, 7 tents; Lower Fall Indians, 82 houses; third village, 'Mahnon of Mandens and a few Fall Indians,' 52 houses, 37 Mandan and 15 Fall; fourth village, Mandan, 'across the river,' 40 houses; fifth, or principal Mandan village, lowest, 113 houses." (Vol. 1, p. 301-2.) He does not undertake to locate precisely any of these villages. But it is clear that he does find **two** villages on the westerly side of the Missouri in 1797-8, one of which is exclusively Mandan, the other principally composed of that tribe.

Now, both the Thompson and the Lewis and Clarke accounts declare that there were, in the general group of Indian villages on the Missouri at and just below the mouth of the Big Knife river **five** of them in all. But in order to harmonize the two accounts as to how many of them were **Mandan** villages we must consider the statement in Lewis and Clarke that the two Mandan villages "who had emigrated together" from below and in the neighborhood of Heart river (opposite to Bismarck, North Dakota), and who "settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri," and who were found there by Thompson in 1797 in two villages, had consolidated between that time and 1804, as Lewis and Clarke say of them (referring to the visitors of "1796"), "since which the two villages have united into one." They also say that the "Mahaha" village, on the south side of the Big Knife and at its very mouth, was half a mile below the so called Minitaree, or "Metaharta" village on that stream, and that "on the opposite side of the Knife river, and one and a half miles above this village, is a second of Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetaree nation." (Id., p. 198.) We

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must probably, therefore, regard Thompson's account (which included two Mandan villages below the Knife and on the westward side of the Missouri, and doubtless all those on both sides of the Knife) as contemplating the two villages on the south bank of the Knife as but one, since, if he regarded them (as did Lewis and Clarke) as two, his total would be **six** villages in the whole group, including the Mandan village on the easterly side of the Missouri. In this connection the fact that Thompson's journal speaks of "the third village" (evidently counting from the **north** southward) as "Mahnon of the Mandans and a few Fall Indians," is significant as indicating a **second** Mandan village on the westerly side, and also as indicating that he had regarded the **two** villages of Lewis and Clarke on the south bank of the Knife as one. These considerations would, we believe, substantially harmonize Thompson's and Captain Lewis' journals on the basis of **five** villages in the whole group in question. Of these the **three** (of Lewis and Clarke) and the **two** of Thompson's most northerly villages are called "Fall" Indians by the latter, while Captain Lewis says (as shown above) that the lower of those three is the Mahaha, or Ahnahaways village—known to the French as Gens des Souliers, and who were, according to Dr. Coues, Matthews and others, closely related to the Hidatsas, Minnetarees or Gros Ventres, and offshoots of the Crows, and differ but little from the Mandans. While the **two** (of Lewis and Clarke) and (probably) the **one** of Thompson's upper village or villages in the general group are called by Lewis and Clarke Minnetarees, "surnamed Metaharta," and the one north of the Knife is called by them "the proper Minnetaree nation." (Coues' ed., vol. 1, pp. 197-8.) These Minnetarees are said by Captain Lewis to be "part of the great nation called Fall Indians." (Id., p. 199.) And Coues' note at that point declares that the term is "traceable to the trader, Edward Umfreville, who was on the Saskatchawan in 1784-87, and who mentions these Indians as being about the falls of the south branch of that river" (Id., p. 199); that they were called, without reason, by the French Gros Ventres, or Big Bellies; while Matthews says the tribe thus referred to by Umfreville is that known as "the Atsinas, or Gros Ventres of the Prairie;" that there were "Minnetarees of the Prarie" and "of the Missouri"; that as designated by Lewis and Clarke they are "two entirely different tribes of Indians, the former being Atsinas, or the Fall

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Indians, and the latter being the Hidatsas, with whom they (Lewis and Clarke) are now wintering," and that it is necessary, when reading Lewis and Clarke, to bear this in mind. (Id., pp. 199-200.)

We have made this detailed explanation of those of said group of villages which were not properly Mandan, but whose occupants are said to have closely resembled them, in order to make clearer what was meant by all of the early visitors in referring to the general group as "The Mandan Villages."

As indicating the oldest definitely known habitat of the Mandans, on the first deserted Mandan village site found by Lewis and Clarke in proceeding up the Missouri, we find in their journal a reference to their having found at or near their camp, eight miles below the lower end of what is now known as Sibley Island —which latter is some fourteen miles below Bismarck, North Dakota—on the east bank of the Missouri, in Burleigh county, "the remains of an old village which is high and strong, and has been fortified; this our chief" (an Aricara) "tells us is the remains of one of the Mandan villages, and are the first ruins which we have seen of that nation in ascending the Missouri." (Vol. 1, p. 153, London ed.) That this location may be fixed very definitely, that journal may be quoted further as stating that that camp was "opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills, forming a cone at the top, one being about ninety, another sixty feet in height, and some of less elevation;" that "near to one of these moles, on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain" those "remains" were found. (Id.)

The narratives in Lewis and Clarke, from day to day after this first indication of former occupancy of the Mandans was seen by them, will show (as seen in extracts therefrom inserted hereinafter) that many such deserted villages were found by them in the neighborhood of Mandan and Bismarck, North Dakota. The "chief" referred to by them as having pointed out this first deserted site as that of the Mandans being an Aricara who was guiding the expedition, was beyond doubt possessed of knowledge enabling him to speak to the fact in the premises. Captain Lewis' statement, based upon the observations of the expedition and the declarations of the Aricara guide, by way of summary as to the former abodes and the migration of the Mandans therefrom upriver, is to the effect that "within the recollection of living wit-

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114 nesses the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about 80 miles below (i. e., below ●131 Fort Mandan), seven on the west and two on the east side of 174 the Missouri," which two moved up the river "opposite the Ricaras" after becoming united, the seven (reduced to five) emigrating also "to the Ricara nation" in a body, forming "two villages"—all being driven thence as the result of attacks by Sioux and the ravages of smallpox; that being still insecure "the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present location. The two who had emigrated together settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast. In this situation they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united into one. They are now two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side, at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about 40 or 50 lodges, built in the same way as those of the Ricaras; the second the same number; and both may raise (i. e., can muster) about 350 men."

E. R. Steinbreuck, of Mandan, N. D., who is connected with the State Historical Society of North Dakota, and who has examined many village ruins of both Mandans and Aricaras between Mandan and the Knife river, states in a letter to the writer hereof in 1908:

"There is one village on the road from Heart river to Fort Clarke, about half way, which I think to have been a Mandan village, while the next below, only about two miles distant, has been decidedly an Aricara village. Some of the Mandans may have stopped there on their move up to Fort Clarke region."

174 **They Came from Whence?** From what direction did the Mandans come to the locality on the Missouri river where were found their deserted villages in 1804? Two theories are, or have been extant upon this subject: One that they emigrated up the Missouri from the region of the mouth of the Ohio, or lower down, on the Mississippi; the other that they at one time lived to the northeast of those portions of the Missouri where those deserted villages and the Mandan villages near the Big Knife were located, and were driven to the Missouri by the Crees, Assiniboines and other tribes inhabiting the region of Lake Winnipeg and west and southwest therefrom.

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The Mandans and Ariccaras come in for some separate treatment, but most of what is extracted herein is said by him as pertaining to the "Three Tribes" at Fort Berthold, above mentioned. Those extracts now follow:

Location of Confederated Village of Mandans, Etc. "An arid prairie- terrace, some four miles wide, stretching southward to the Missouri from the base of bluffs which form the edge of a higher plain, becomes gradually narrower as it approaches the river, and terminates in a steep bluff of soft rock and lignite which overhangs the river. On the southern extremity of this terrace, near the brow of the bluff, stand the Indian village, and what remains, since a recent fire, of the old trading post of Fort Berthold. This is on the left bank of the Missouri, in latitude 47 degrees, 34 minutes north, and longitude 101 degrees, 48 minutes west nearly. About five years ago, a large reservation was declared for them in Dakota and Montana, along the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. Fort Berthold is in the northeast corner of this reservation."

See, for further description of this site and surroundings, Part I of this paper, Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., pp. 574-7.

Matthews' reference to the lodge-groupings in that village, is as follows:

Dwellings. "The village consists of a number of houses built very closely together, without any attempt at regularity of position. The doors face in every possible direction; and there is great uniformity in the appearance of the lodges; so it is a very difficult matter to find one's way among them."

And of the type of lodges as originally constructed, he gives the following description, with some features not noted by the earlier visitors:

Old-Style Lodges of Mandans, Etc. "Most of the houses of the village were in 1865 peculiar, large, earth-covered lodges, such as were built by various tribes of Indians of the plains, in the valley of the Missouri, and so often, with varying accuracy, described by travelers. Each one of these lodges consists of a wooden frame, covered with willows, hay, and earth. A hole in the top, which lets in the light and lets out the smoke, and a doorway on one side, are the only apertures in the building. The door is made of rawhide stretched on a frame, or of puncheons.

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lages on the Upper Missouri River in 1738, was the first known explorer to leave a written account of his observations.[3] In company with a large party of Assiniboine, he followed an old Indian trail that had been in long use by the Assiniboine when visiting the agricultural villages to barter for corn and other agricultural products. He set out from the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers on September 26, 1738, to visit a people known as the Montannes, who lived on a river believed to flow into the Pacific Ocean. Contacts with the earth-lodge groups must have been numerous, since the "Montannes" spoke Assiniboine well. Concerning the village where he headquartered, he wrote:

> I gave orders to count the cabins, and we found that there were one hundred and thirty. All the streets, squares and cabins are uniform in appearance; often our Frenchmen would lose their way in going about. They kept the streets and open places very clean, the ramparts are smooth and wide; the palisade is supported on cross pieces morticed into posts fifteen feet apart with a lining. For this purpose they use green hides fastened only at the top in places where they are needed. As to the bastians, there are four of them at each curtain well flanked. The fort is built on an elevation in mid-prairie with a ditch fifteen feet deep and from fifteen to eighteen wide.[4]

He believed that these fortified villages were impregnable to attack. The younger La Verendrye went to another fort situated on the bank of the river and declared that it was twice as large. La Verendrye was told that there were six large villages on both banks of the river and that a day's march from the last of these were the Pananas, who had several forts, and then the Pananis. This would indicate that part of the Arikara had already moved northward to the neighborhood of the Grand River, a region which at that time had not been entered by the French traders.

M. Bellen's map of 1755 was the first to show the location of the Mandan villages.[5] This map shows the "Riv. des Mantons" flowing southeastward but fails to connect it with any of the streams in that direction. He wrote: "On ne connoit pas les sources du Missouri," and, of the "Riv. des Mantons," he added: "on ne scait si cette Riviere n'est pas la source du

3. *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultin de Varennes de La Verendrye and His Sons*, ed. Lawrence J. Burpee (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1927), pp. 290–360.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 339–40.

5. N. H. Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota* (St. Paul: Pioneer Press, 1911), p. 47.

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Missouri." This map shows the Mandan and Arikara to be living about three hundred miles apart. Recent archeological studies of Arikara sites on the Missouri above Pierre, South Dakota, by the writer have shown that Arikara groups were also occupying the unexplored sections of the Missouri below the Mandan villages at this time.

Mackintosh (1773) reported that the Mandans were living in the Heart River region with from nine to thirteen villages on both banks of the Missouri River, with many thousands of warriors.[6] Since the Mandan have never claimed as many as thirteen villages and, in view of the fact that no reference is made to the agricultural Hidatsa groups who were living on the Missouri near by at that time, according to traditional and archeological evidence, it is to be presumed that Mackintosh's account included both Mandan and Hidatsa earth-lodge groups. Laurie and Whittle's map (1782) enumerates and locates a number of tribes heretofore not reported.[7] It resembled Bellen's map of 1755 in that the "Mantons River" still was not recognized to be a section of the Missouri. The Mandan lived along the "Mantons River," which flowed to the southeast. Their nearest neighbors were the Nadouasis, who had left the headwaters of the Mississippi, crossed the Red River, and were living below the Mandan villages. Immediately to the west of the Mandan villages were the Snake Indians, while the Assiniboine were to the north. The Arikara were to the southeast along the Missouri, while the Tetons occupied the prairie regions between Lake Traverse and the Missouri.

David Thompson in 1797 recognized that the Hidatsa, although living in earth-lodge villages adjacent to the Mandan, were a separate tribal group.[8] Prior to 1797, no references to the Hidatsa appear in the literature, and it is to be presumed that at least part of the tribe consisting of the Awaxawi group, who have a tradition of intimate relations with the Mandan, with whom they were intermarried in 1797, must be included in all

6. H. R. Schoolcraft, *History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States: Collected and Prepared under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs* (Philadelphia, 1854), III, 253.

7. Winchell, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

8. *Op. cit.*, pp. 225–37.

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previous references to the Mandan. He also recognized both agricultural and nomadic Hidatsa groups.

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The Lewis and Clark journals written at Fort Mandan, where they spent the winter of 1804–5, furnish much data on both the culture and the history of the two tribes. To quote from their journal for November 21, 1804:

> The villages near which we are established are five in number, and are the residence of three distinct nations: the Mandans, the Ahnahaways (Awaxawi), and the Minitarees (Hidatsa and Awatixa). The history of the Mandans, as we received it from our interpreters and from the chiefs themselves, and as it is attested by existing monuments, illustrates more than that of any other nation the unsteady movements and the tottering fortunes of the American nations. Within the recollections of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about eighty miles below, and situated seven on the west and two on the east side of the river. The two, finding themselves wasting away before the smallpox and the Sioux, united into one village and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the remaining seven to five villages, till at length they emigrated in a body to the Ricara nation, where they formed themselves into two villages and joined those of their countrymen who had gone before them. In their new residence they were still insecure, and at length the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present position. The two who had emigrated together still settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast side. In this position they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united into one. They are now in two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side and at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about forty or fifty lodges, built in the same way as those of the Ricaras; the second, the same number; and both may raise about three hundred and fifty men.
>
> On the same side of the River, and at a distance of four miles from the lower Mandan village, is another called Mahaha (Awaxawi). It is situated in a high plain at the mouth of Knife river, and is the residence of the Ahnahaways who formerly resided on the Missouri about thirty miles below where they now live. The Assiniboin and Sioux forced them to a spot five miles higher, where the greater part of them were put to death, and the rest emigrated to their present situation in order to obtain an asylum near the Minnetarees. . . . Their whole force is about fifty men.
>
> On the south side of the same Knife River, half a mile above the Mahaha and in the same open plain with it, is a village of Minnetarees (Awatixa) surnamed Metaharta, who are about one hundred and fifty men in number. On the opposite side of Knife River, one and a half mile above this village, is a second village of Minnetarees (Hidatsa), who may be considered as the proper Minetaree nation. It is situated in a beautiful low plain, and contains four hundred and fifty warriors. . . . The Mandans say that these people came out of the water to the east and settled near them in their former establishment in nine villages. The Minnetarees proper assert, on the contrary, that they grew where they now live. . . . They also say that . . . the Minnetarees of the wil-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lows (Hidatsa), whose language with very little variation is their own, came many years ago from the plains and settled near them, and perhaps the two traditions may be reconciled by the natural presumption that these Minnetarees were the tribe known to the Mandans below, and that they ascended the river for the purpose of rejoining the Minnetaree proper. . . . The inhabitants of these five villages, all of which are within the distance of six miles, live in harmony with each other. The Ahnahaways understand in part the language of the Minnetarees; the dialect of the Mandans differs widely from both, but their long residence together has insensibly blended their manners and occasioned some approximation in language, particularly as to objects of daily occurrence and obvious to the senses.[9]

Alexander Henry visited the Mandan and Hidatsa in 1806 as a representative of the Northwest Fur Company. He found the three Hidatsa village groups occupying the same villages as in Lewis and Clark's time. The east-side Mandan, however, had moved to the opposite bank, where they had built a new village near the present town of Deapolis. Concerning the reorganization of the Mandan villages after the smallpox epidemic of 1782 and their migration upstream from the mouth of the Heart River to Painted Woods, where one band of Arikara had moved to join the Awaxawi and one band of Mandan who had formerly lived there, he wrote:

Not many years ago the Pawnees (Arikara) and Mandanes were allied to each other and lived together in the same villages on the Missourie, about 30 leagues below this place. A misunderstanding happening, they separated; the Pawnees retired down the river and built their village where it now stands, and the Mandanes proceeded with an intention of settling themselves somewhere about the confluence of the Little Missouri, or on the upper part of Riviere la Souris. But on their arrival at this place the Big Bellies (Hidatsa) barred the road and put a stop to their westward progress telling them they would not permit anyone to build higher up the river than themselves, and desiring the Mandanes to build where they are at present.[10]

Bradbury and Brackenridge in 1811 found the Mandan and Hidatsa occupying the same sites reported by Henry in 1806.[11] The period 1811–32 is not covered by reports of travelers. The writer learned while studying the ethnology of the Mandan and Hidatsa that one group of Mandan, representing the survivors of the west-side Heart River villages, returned south in 1820 and

9. Elliot Coues (ed.), *History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark* (New York: Frances P. Harper, 1893), I, 196–200.

10. *The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson, 1799–1814*, ed. Elliot Coues (New York: Frances P. Harper, 1897), XII, 334.

11. John Bradbury, "Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811," in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1904), Vol. V; *Brackenridge's Journal of a Voyage Up the River Missouri*, in *ibid.*, Vol. VI.

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built a village on Eagle Nose Butte, where they remained until 1823, one year after James Kipp established a trading post at the Mandan villages.

Various aspects of Mandan culture were recorded by visitors to the region after 1832. Catlin and Maximilian described the village life in 1832 and 1833 from observations made of their daily activities.[12] Chardon's journals, written at Fort Clark between 1834 and 1839, carries a day-by-day account of the tribe during the second major smallpox epidemic of 1837 and of the reorganization of the population at that time.[13] Kurz, Boller, and Matthews have described various aspects of their culture as observed between 1851 and 1870.[14]

After 1870, the Mandan received little attention until 1908, when Libby used native informants to identify village sites of the Mandan and other tribes on the Upper Missouri.[15] He showed that Mandan sites could be distinguished from those of other tribes by the peculiar arrangement of lodges around a central plaza or open circle. A year later Curtis published a report of the Mandan covering various aspects of their culture.[16] Between 1912 and 1919, Lowie published reports on the social organization, societies, and ethnological problems of the Mandan based on field work with the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow.[17]

12. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (Philadelphia, 1857), and *O-Kee-Pa* (Philadelphia, 1867); Maximilian's *Travels in the Interior of North America*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Thwaites, Vols. XXII–XXIV (Cleveland, 1906).

13. *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark, 1834–1839*, ed. Annie Heloise Abel (Pierre, S.D., 1932).

14. *Journal of Rudolph Friederick Kurz*, ed. J. N. B. Hewitt (Bulletin 115 of the Bureau of American Ethnology [Washington, 1937]); Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians: Eight Years in the Far West, 1858–1866* (Philadelphia: Elwood Zell, 1868); Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* ("U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey, Miscellaneous Publications," Vol. VII [Washington, 1877]).

15. O. G. Libby, "La Verendrye's Visit to the Mandans in 1738–39" and "Typical Villages of the Mandan, Arikara and Hidatsa in the Missouri Valley, North Dakota," *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, Vol. II (1908).

16. Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indians*, Vol. V: *The Mandan*, ed. Ferderick Webb Hodge (Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 1909).

17. Robert H. Lowie, "Some Problems in the Ethnology of the Crow and Village Indians," *American Anthropology*, Vol. XIV (new ser., 1912); *Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XI [1913]); *Social Life of the Mandan and Hidatsa* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXI [1917]); *The Hidatsa Sun Dance* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVI [1919]).

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stream from the Knife River, where they separated after quarreling over the division of a buffalo. Those who moved farther upstream along the Missouri and Yellowstone became the "Paunch" Indians, while those who remained near the other Hidatsa villages were known as the Hidatsa.

By 1700 the entire section of the Missouri from the Cannonball to the mouth of the Yellowstone was occupied by groups of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow of the "Paunch" band. The greatest concentration of villages was near the mouth of Heart River. These large earth-lodge villages were occupied by Mandan of the Nuptadi and Nuitadi bands and were situated on both banks of the Missouri. Agriculture was intensively practiced by these groups. Farther upstream at the Painted Woods, the Awigaxa band of Mandan and the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa had villages. The Awatixa band of Hidatsa were on the south bank of Knife River. Agriculture was practiced by all these groups. North of Knife River were the less agricultural Hidatsa, who sometimes came to the north bank of Knife River to occupy their large earth-lodge village and to plant corn. Generally they were farther upstream, on the Mouse River, or in the Turtle Mountains, living as nomadic hunters. Immediately to the west of the more nomadic Hidatsa were the nomadic Crow. These groups had prescribed territories and lived peacefully together so long as one group did not infringe on the territorial rights of the others. These groups moved little until the close of the eighteenth century, when the aboriginal population was sharply reduced by smallpox and other epidemics. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the region below the Cannonball was occupied by nomadic groups who were in part replaced by the Arikara after 1725 when they began their northward migration which did not terminate until 1862, at which time they united with the survivors of the Mandan and Hidatsa villages at Fishhook Village.

In another report the writer has analyzed the ceremonial organizations of the various village groups of Mandan and Hidatsa, using genealogies, historic accounts of travelers, and native traditions and has shown that two distinct inheritance patterns existed: (1) the Mandan pattern of inheritance of principal bundles and rites within the clan and (2) the Hidatsa and

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(2) Nup'tadi (no meaning); (3) Ma'nana'rE ("Those Who Quarreled"); (4) Awi'-ka-xa (no meaning); and (5) Nu'itadi ("Our People").

While living in the Heart River region, dialectic differences also existed between bands. Three major dialectic groups existed then, according to Crows Heart and Scattercorn: Nuptadi, Nuitadi, and Awigaxa. The latter group was small and was assimilated into the Nuitadi after the first smallpox epidemic. Linguistic differences between the Nuptadi and Nuitadi were recognized by Maximilian, who prepared a partial list of Mandan words of the two dialects.[1] These differences are still recognized by Mandan informants. The Nuitadi was the largest linguistic group and comprised the Nuitadi proper, the Is'topa, and the Ma'nana'rE. The latter two bands separated from the Nuptadi proper for economic reasons when the village population became too large for the further exploitation of the corn grounds.

In historic times and before coming to Fort Clark, according to Crows Heart, the Istopa and MananarE had separate villages. In addition, there were several villages of Nuitadi. The Istopa were believed to occupy the territory north of the Heart River and had as their nearest neighbors the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa, who moved there from below the Cannonball River. Their principal village was at the Motsiff site. Crows Heart's grandmother was of the Istopa band, and she was born in their village near the present town of Sanger, North Dakota.

The Mandan have been a relatively small tribe since the first smallpox epidemic which reached them before leaving the Heart River villages. Lewis and Clark reported ruins of their villages in that region in 1804, and the natives informed him that in their time nine villages were occupied simultaneously. The east-side villages united into one village and moved northward, while the west-side group united first into two villages and later into one village and moved northward along the west bank of the Missouri and settled at Fort Clark Village.

There is some inconsistency in the Mandan migration myths,

1. Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906), XXIV, 259.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NO17 Mandan NQ17

perhaps more, villages. They call themselves Numangkake (*i. e.*, men), and if they wish to particularize their descent, they add the name of the village whence they came originally. Some, for instance, call themselves Sipuske-Numangkake, the men of the pheasant or prairie hens, from the village Sipuska-Mihte, pheasant village; others, Mato-Numangkake, the men of the bear, from the village Mato-Mihte, bear village, &c. &c. Another general name of this people is Mahna-Narra, the sulky, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri.

The early history of the Mandans is involved in obscurity; their own traditions and legends will be discussed in the sequel, when treating on their religious ideas. They affirm that they descend originally from the more eastern nations, near the sea-coast.* Though the above-named villages do not all exist at this time, these Indians still call themselves by their several names. They formerly dwelt near the Heart River: when Charbonneau arrived here at the end of the last century, the two Mandan villages, which are still standing, were about six or eight miles further down the Missouri. The small-pox and the assaults of their enemies have so reduced this people, that the whole number now reside in two villages, in the vicinity of Fort Clarke. These two villages are Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush (the southern village), about 300 paces above Fort Clarke, and on the same side of the river, and Ruhptare,† about three miles higher up, likewise on the same bank. The first had, at the time of our visit, sixty-five huts, and contained about 150 warriors; the other, thirty-eight huts and eighty-three warriors. According to this, the tribe had not more than 230 or 240 warriors; and, on the whole, scarcely 900 or 1000 souls; Dr.

* Warden is mistaken when he says (Vol. III. p. 559), that the Mandans are descended from the Crows; for this is applicable to the Manitaries, of whom we shall speak afterward.

† Lewis and Clarke write this name Rooptahee, which is incorrect. (See Account of their Journey, Vol. I. p. 130.) These celebrated travellers passed the winter among the Mandans, and give many particulars respecting them, which, on the whole, are correct; but their proper names and words from the Mandan and Manitari languages are, in general, inaccurately understood and written. It is said, they derived their information from a person named Jessaume, who spoke the language very imperfectly, as we were assured everywhere on the Missouri. Of this kind are many of the names mentioned by these travellers, which neither the Indians nor the Whites were able to understand; for instance, Ahnahaways (Vol. I. p. 118), a people who are said to have formerly dwelt between the Mandans and the Manitaries; likewise Mahawha, where the Arwacahwas lived (*ibid.*); the fourth village is said to have been called Metaharta, and to have been inhabited by Manitaries (*ibid.*); of all these names, except, perhaps, Mahawha, which ought probably to be Machaha, nobody could give us the slightest information, not even Charbonneau, though he has lived here so many years. It is necessary to be much on your guard against bad interpreters, and I acted in this respect with much caution. All the information given by me, respecting Indian words and names, was carefully written down from the statements of sensible, well-informed men of these nations. I have endeavoured to write down their language exactly, according to its real pronunciation, in doing which, the German guttural sounds were of great assistance to me, as it is that of the Missouri Indians. Mr. Kipp and Charbonneau, with some others who have lived long among these Indians, daily assisted me, during a long winter, with much patience and kindness, in this work.

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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177 white, would be favorably predisposed toward white ways. But the descend-
121 ants of the previously mentioned Irishman are biologically part white, yet they remain unacculturated; and there are three families who have had a white model but who have not become acculturated. Another possible explanation is that the lighter skin color per se allows the children of mixed marriages to "pass" in local white society. The data does not confirm this notion either, as an Indian's ability to be accepted by local whites depends upon how he behaves rather than upon his racial characteristics. A series of relevant factors in the total situation, when taken together, do give at least partial understanding of the importance of white intermarriage. They add up to a picture of such extreme psychological and social isolation of the Indian people that a white person married into the family becomes the primary agent by which white ways and values are learned and internalized.

131 Lone Hill is physically isolated between the Missouri and the Little Mis-
177 souri rivers, and contact with white people is thus infrequent and limited. There are no stores, no paved roads, and no post office in the village. The
[36] only whites who reside in Lone Hill itself are the two teachers in the govern-
487 ment grade school, who rarely participate in community affairs. None of the
488 whites currently married to Indians live permanently in the village today, although a few couples occasionally return to Lone Hill, during which time they stay with Indian families. There are two ways to travel to the surrounding towns: either across the Missouri River by boat during the summer and over the ice in winter, or by making a sixty-mile trip over dirt roads through irregular rolling hills and flat-topped buttes. Anyone who has lived in Lone Hill during the late spring comes to realize the meaning of isolation. The ice over the river is too thin for passage, the roads become blocked by mud and melting show, and the one telephone usually breaks down and remains unrepaired. Mail and supplies are often dropped by airplane. The physical isolation works in a double way—few whites come to Lone Hill and few Indians leave.

105 The Mandan-Hidatsa have never experienced a serious ecological read-
177 justment, as they have lived along the Missouri River Valley for at least the two centuries preceding the completion of this study in 1953. The Indian people today are certainly dependent upon the American economic system for their cash income, but almost every family in Lone Hill derives a relatively large noncash income from exploitation of the natural resources of the area. This exploitation is similar in some respects to the adjustment made by the aboriginal earth lodge tribes to the same fertile river bottom lands. Fuel is provided by wood from the timber, and from indigenous lignite outcroppings. Over half the families live in log cabins, which they erect themselves from timber found in the wooded bottoms. The food staples of corn and potatoes are obtained in part from small garden plots, now jointly worked by the men and women of the household. The meat supply depends largely upon the man's ability as a hunter of deer and small game. Abundant wild fruits and berries are gathered during the appropriate seasons and are preserved for use during the winter months. Thus, many of the economic goods which are normally

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224 Not one do they allow to escape, large and small, fat and lean, all must fall to prevent their alarming other herds.

The manner of hunting the buffalo answers another good purpose, which is that the bad and dull horses have an equal share with the best racers.

DIVISION OF THE BUFFALO HUNT.

[411] They never make use of fire arms in hunting the buffalo. The bow and arrow is the only weapon. When a hunting excursion is in agitation among the Mandans, they inform their neighbors on the north shore, and the Saulteurs (Fall Indians.) The Big Bellies have their own parties and seldom interfere with the others. They never go in the same direction, the one goes to the northeast, and the others to the southwest. The ●[131] Knife River, indeed, seems to be the boundary line. The day is fixed for their departure, when early in the morning as many as are inclined to be of the party assemble upon the rising grounds in the rear of the village, about one and a half miles to the south. When all are ready they proceed in one body to find out the buffalo, and seldom or never return light. I observed that on their arrival, an extraordinary custom prevailed among them — the horses are instantly unloaded and the meat taken into the huts, where it is spread out upon the ground and exposed for some time before the master or mistress of the hut makes use of it. Soon after it is arrived, the women whose 431 husbands or sons have been hunting, enter the huts of those 224 who have meat, when the mistress instantly gives them a share, and they walk away with it, so that it often happens that there remains not a mouthful for her own family. When this is the case, she, in her turn, goes to the huts of some of her friends who have been hunting and comes away with a load. I observed that in several huts of those who had not been hunting, there was more meat than in those who had been out. It is also customary for the old men and the old women, who have no sons, nor particular friends, to march out on the first news of the hunters' approach, to the distance of a mile or more, where they sit by the road, and almost every hunter in passing drops them a piece of meat. By these means every individual has a share of what has been killed.

VILLAGES LIKE MOLE HILLS.

361 These villages at a distance have the appearance of a cluster of mole hills, or musk rat cabins. They are nearly of a circular form. The huts are placed in a very irregular manner, and some so very close to each other, as scarcely to admit of a foot-passenger; others again, at a distance of twenty to thirty feet from each other.

1/4 [Henry says southwest.-A.]